

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

SAM-01 SAJ-01 ARA-06 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /094 W
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R 081719Z SEP 76
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8463
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
DIA WASHDC
CINCLANT NORFOLK VA
/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 6137

E.O. 11652: XGDS-4
TAGS: PFOR, PO, AG
SUBJECT: RUI MATEUS ON ANGOLA

REF: LISBON 6071 (DTG 041332Z SEP 76)

SUMMARY: SOCIALIST PARTY INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY, RUI
MATEUS VISITED EMBASSY SEPT 7, AT SOARES'S REQUEST, TO
GIVE ME A FURTHER RUNDOWN ON THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT PS
MISSION TO ANGOLA. THE MESSAGE CONVEYED BY MATEUS WAS
VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL TO THAT FROM SOARES: NETO IS GAINING
STRENGTH AND LOOKING FOR HELP FROM PORTUGAL IN BUILDING
BRIDGES TO WESTERN EUROPE AND POSSIBLY ALSO TO THE UNITED STATES.
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END SUMMARY.

1. SOCIALIST PARTY INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY RUI MATEUS CALLED ON ME SEPT 7 AT PRIME MINISTER SOARES'S REQUEST. HIS PURPOSE: TO REVIEW THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT PS MISSION TO ANGOLA. MATEUS'S OBSERVATIONS FOLLOW.

2. THE NEW ANGOLAN ATTITUDE: THE SUCCESS OF THE THREE-MEMBER PS DELEGATION -- ANTONIO MACEDO, TITO DE MORAIS, AND MATEUS -- WAS LARGELY PREDETERMINED. IN CONTRAST TO PREVIOUS VISITS TO LUANDA BY PS PRESIDENT MACEDO, THE INITIATIVE THIS TIME CAME FROM ANGOLAN PRESIDENT AGOSTINHO NETO. THROUGHOUT THE TALKS IN LUANDA RPA OFFICIALS APPEARED ANXIOUS TO COME TO TERMS. ANGOLA'S URGENT NEED FOR TECHNICIANS APPEARED TO BE THE PRINCIPAL MOTIVE FOR THE CHANGE IN ATTITUDE. NETO AND HIS ADVISORS ALSO HOPED THAT THE PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS COULD PLAY A USEFUL INTERMEDIARY ROLE WITH AND BY IMPLICATION TO A LESSER EXTENT WITH THE UNITED STATES.

3. DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS SOON: AS A RESULT OF THE VISIT RAPID PROGRESS IS BEING MADE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. AN ADMINISTRATIVE SPECIALIST FROM THE PORTUGUESE FOREIGN OFFICE WILL TRAVEL TO LUANDA NEXT WEEK TO EVALUATE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE OPENING OF A MAJOR PORTUGUESE DIPLOMATIC ESTABLISHMENT. HIS VISIT WILL BE FOLLOWED BY THAT OF A GOP FINANCIAL TEAM WHICH WILL LOOK IN TO ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FLOWING FROM THE MASS PORTUGUESE EXODUS FROM THE FORMER COLONY. IF ALL GOES WELL, PORTUGUESE AND ANGOLAN AMBASSADORS COULD BE IN PLACE BY THE END OF THE MONTH.

4. GOP IN STRONGER POSITION: IN ITS EFFORTS TO ATTRACT TECHNICIANS FROM ABROAD, THE RPA HAS ESTABLISHED HIGHLY ATTRACTIVE TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT. FOREIGN TECHNICIANS ENJOY A VARIETY OF BENEFITS INCLUDING GUARANTEED REPATRIATION OF UP TO 60 PERCENT OF THEIR VERY GENEROUS EARNINGS. ANGOLA'S PLIGHT HAS IMPROVED THE GOP DELEGATION HEADED BY PAULO JORGE HOME EMPTY-HANDED. THE MPLA LEADER HAD ARRIVED IN LISBON CONFIDENT THAT HE WOULD BE ABLE TO NEGOTIATE THE RETURN OF LIMITED NUMBERS OF ANGOLANS ON CONFIDENTIAL

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RPA TERMS. THE PORTUGUESE INSISTED THAT REPATRIATION MUST BE PART OF A PACKAGE DEAL ADDRESSING OTHER OUTSTANDING BILATERAL PROBLEMS AS WELL.

5. STATUS OF EXPATRIATES: RPA OFFICIALS GIVE PRIORITY TO THE RETURN OF INDIVIDUALS NOW IN PORTUGAL WHO WERE BORN IN ANGOLA. PRESIDENT NETO AT ONE POINT REMARKED THAT IT WOULD BE JUST AS WELL IF OLDER PORTUGUESE-BORN

RETURNEES REMAINED IN PORTUGAL. ANGOLA WOULD PREFER
INSTEAD THE EMIGRATION OF YOUNGER PORTUGUESE LESS SET
IN THEIR WAYS. RPA OFFICIALS ACKNOWLEDGE THEY ARE NOT
ENTIRELY HAPPY WITH THE ACTIVITIES OF EX-PORTUGUESE
"REVOLUTIONARIES" LIVING IN "EXILE" IN ANGOLA AND MAY EXPEL
THEM. INDIVIDUALS SUCH AS VARELA GOMES AND COSTA MARTINS ARE
DOING LITTLE OF VALUE FOR THE ANGOLAN STATE WHILE CONTIN-
UING THE PATTERN OF AGITATION THEY ESTABLISHED WHILE IN
PORTUGAL.

6. NETO A MODERATING FORCE: PRESIDENT NETO HAD NEVER
FAVORED A BREAK IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL.
THE STEP HAD BEEN TAKEN IN HIS ABSENCE FROM LUANDA.
THERE WERE SIGNS THAT NETO AND THE RPA WANTED TO END ANGOLA'S
INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION AND PARTICULARLY TO STRENGTHEN
RPA LINKS TO EUROPE. INDICATIVE OF THIS NEW ATTITUDE WAS
THE BREAK IN THE LOGJAM ON GRANTING AGREEMENT FOR AMBASSADORS
FROM WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. KAJ FALKMAN, FIRST
SECRETARY IN THE SWEDISH EMBASSY IN LISBON, WILL BE ACCEPTED
AS THE SWEDISH AMBASSADOR IN LUANDA.

7. THE COMING POLITICAL CLARIFICATION: ANGOLA NOW
RESEMBLES PORTUGAL DURING THE SUMMER OF 1975. THE ECONOMY
IS IN TURMOIL AND THE ARMY IS COMPLETELY UNDISCIPLINED.
BUT A PROCESS OF POLITICAL CLARIFICATION SEEMS TO BE
UNDERWAY. PRESIDENT NETO SEEMS CONFIDENT THAT HE WILL
EMERGE ON TOP.

8. NETO GAINING STRENGTH: IN CONTRAST TO THE MPLA, WHICH
IS FREQUENTLY CRITICIZED, PRESIDENT IS UNIVERSALLY POPULAR.
HE IS GAINING STRENGTH. THE PRESENCE OF MOST RANKING MEMBERS
OF THE MPLA IN THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PS DELEGATION
REFLECTS NETO'S STRENGTHENED POSITION. ONLY DEFENSE
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MINISTER HERIQUE CARREIRA AND INTERIOR MINISTER NITO
ALVES -- THE MOST SLAVISHLY PRO-MOSCOW RPA OFFICIALS --
DID NOT PARTICIPATE. IN SHORT, NETO IS A MAN WORTH
BETTING ON.

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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

DIA WASHDC

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LISBON 6137

MUTED CRITICISM OF THE US: THE UNITED STATES SELDOM CAME UP DURING DISCUSSIONS IN LUANDA. INFREQUENT REFERENCES WERE OBLIQUE. LUCIO LARA, FOR EXAMPLE, NOTED THAT THE RPA WOULD NOT BE REPRESENTED AT THE FORTHCOMING UNGA COURTESY OF THE USG. RPA OFFICIALS ON THE OTHER HAND WERE WELL AWARE OF THE ROLE THE UNITED STATES AND THE WEST CAN PLAY IN ECONOMIC TERMS. GULF OIL IS ALREADY PLAYING AN IMPORTANT ROLE. IT CONTRIBUTES "SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS PER DAY" IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE. THE USSR BY CONTRAST SEEMS TO GIVE LITTLE WHILE TAKING MUCH. THIS HAS REINFORCED A GROWING RESENTMENT AGAINST THE SOVIET PRESENCE.

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10. THE ROLE OF THE CUBANS AND THE SOVIETS: THE CUBANS PERFORM SECURITY FUNCTIONS; THE SOVIETS SERVE PRIMARILY IN CIVILIAN ADVISORY POSTIONS. NETO WAS DEFENSIVE ON THIS POINT, HE STRESSED THAT, DESPITE THE PRESENCE OF THE FOREIGN TECHNICIANS, ANGOLANS MADE ALL THE DECISIONS.

CONSEQUENCES WERE SOMETIMES DISASTROUS. MATEUS CITED AS AN EXAMPLE THE PURCHASE OF A LARGE QUANTITY OF LIQUID AMMONIA FOR WHICH NO STORAGE FACILITIES WERE AVAILABLE IN ANGOLA. THE SHIPMENT HAD TO BE RETURNED AT SUBSTANTIAL FINANCIAL LOSS. CUBANS ARE STILL PRESENT IN ABUNDANCE. MATEUS SAID HE HAD POINTED OUT CUBANS TO MACEDO ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS BUT MACEDO, WHO IS HARD OF HEARING, ONLY RESPONSE WAS "WHAT DID YOU SAY?" INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE CUBANS ARE BEING RELIED ON BY NETO TO QUELL BARRACKS DISTURBANCES.

11. MILITARY SITUATION STILL CONFUSED: MATEUS SAID HE WAS UNAWARE OF THE DETAILS OF THE MILITARY SITUATION. HE SUPPOSED, HOWEVER, THAT GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES WERE STILL A SIGNIFICANT PROBLEM. INDICATIVE, HE SAID, WAS WHAT SEEMED TO BE INORDINATE RPA CONCERN, BORDERING ON PARANOIA, WITH THE RECENT INCURSION FROM NAMIBIA OF A 25-MAN SOUTH AFRICAN MERCENARY FORCE.

12. THE FUTURE OF GOP-RPA RELATIONS: MATEUS TOLD NETO CANDIDLY THAT THE GOP COULD NOT DIRECTLY CONTROL THE PORTUGUESE MEDIA. STORIES UNFAVORABLE TO ANGOLA AND THE MPLA, THE OSTENSIBLE CAUSE FOR THE EARLIER RUPTURE IN RELATIONS, WOULD CONTINUE TO APPEAR. NETO SAID HE WAS MORE INTERESTED IN PS PUBLIC ATTITUDES. HE ASKED FOR A "FEW WORDS OF ENCOURAGEMENT" FOR THE MPLA FROM TIME TO TIME FROM THE PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS. MATEUS INDICATED THAT THIS WAS NOT UNREASONABLE. MATEUS ALSO MADE A POINT OF STRESSING TO NETO THAT ATTEMPTS AT DIALOGUE THROUGH THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY WOULD NOT PROSPER. DISCUSSIONS SHOULD BE HELD INSTEAD WITH THE PARTY IN POWER. NETO SEEMED TO ACCEPT THE POINT.

13. COMMENT: MATEUS' COMMENTS PROVIDE FURTHER BACKGROUND FOR THE COMMENTS PRIME MINISTER SOARES MADE TO ME LAST WEEK (REFTEL). THE MESSAGE CONVEYED BY MATEUS WAS VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL: NETO IS GAINING STRENGTH AND CON-
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FIDENCE AND IS LOOKING FOR HELP FROM PORTUGAL IN BUILDING BRIDGES TO WESTERN EUROPE AND POSSIBLY ALSO THE UNITED STATES. THE PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS REGARD THIS AS A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT AND ARE INCLINED TO RESPOND FAVORABLY.
CARLUCCI

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